

By Mr. LANDRUM:

H. Res. 312. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct studies and investigations of all Federal grants-in-aid; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McCORMACK:

H. R. 8656. A bill to authorize Hon. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO and Hon. PETER W. RODINO, JR., Members of Congress, to accept and wear the awards of the Order of the Star of Solidarity (Stella della Solidarieta Italiana di secondo classe) and the Order of Merit (dell'Ordine

al Merito della Repubblica Italiana), of the Government of Italy; considered and passed.

By Mr. BERRY:

H. R. 8661. A bill for the relief of Bennett Memorial Hospital; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOYLE:

H. R. 8662. A bill for the relief of Laszlo Hunyadi and his wife, Delina Hunyadi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 8663. A bill for the relief of Francesco Masiello; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DONOHUE:

H. R. 8664. A bill for the relief of Clifford S. and Ethelreda Jorsling; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H. R. 8665. A bill for the relief of Hortensia Dowling; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FORD:

H. R. 8666. A bill for the relief of Jacob Ype Harms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORANO:

H. R. 8667. A bill for the relief of Dominick LeRose; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'BRIEN of New York:

H. R. 8668. A bill for the relief of Epifania Gitto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PATTERSON:

H. R. 8669. A bill for the relief of Adoberto Savigni; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 8670. A bill for the relief of Joaquim B. Calca; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SEELY-BROWN:

H. R. 8671. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Spera; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Address by Hon. Frances P. Bolton at
Ninth Annual Colgate Foreign Policy
Conference, Colgate University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert an address made by our distinguished colleague from Ohio, Mrs. BOLTON, at the foreign affairs conference held at Colgate University during the week of July 4.

The address follows:

EMERGENT AFRICA

Mr. President, Dr. Wilson, members of the conference, honored guests, and friends. To be here in this distinguished company is a privilege indeed. To me it is an especially delightful moment, coming as I do to the university begun so many years ago by 13 men of whom my great grandfather was one. Little by little those modest beginnings have grown into this splendid institution whose roots go deep down into the earth, whose trunk is straight and strong, and whose branches reach ever more eagerly towards the stars. How proud those 13 must be to find representatives from so many nations gathered together with world-minded Americans in earnest effort to bring about greater understanding.

I hesitate to speak of that great continent of Africa to such an informed group as this. I am certain there are those among you who know far more of Africa than I, which of itself is both fearsome and challenging. However, my interest in this continent that God has held in reserve is deep, my efforts to know as much as I can about it, sincere. I am happy to give you some of my thinking.

Just here I must say to you that I hesitate to use the pronoun "it" in speaking of Africa. There is nothing neuter about Africa. But can one say he or should it be she?

Africa is so vital, so personal and yet so impersonal. There are moments when one says "she" unhesitatingly, so great is the sense of maternity, of the creative, passive, waiting forces that seem to surround one, that seem to well up out of the earth one walks on. And then again Africa is all male—aggressive, powerful, ruthless, invincible. Above all else, Africa is a land of extremes, of such beauty by day and by night that one stands breathless before it;

of such ruthless cruelty that only the bravest can support it.

The oldest land mass on earth, Africa's shores have been beaten upon so long that there are few harbors. Her great plateau has long since been made infertile, for after the trees were gone, the winds have blown away the productive soil. Her great rivers are not highways from their sources to the sea, for in their courses they must tumble down to sea level, and death is in their depths. Her incredible forests, her steaming jungles, her low marshes, her fearsome heights, her beautiful lakes, and glowing volcanoes, her snow-clad mountains, her deserts, and her rain forests. There is no end to the wonders one may see. Once seen one is never quite the same again.

Yes, Africa is a country of great extremes and many emotions. Of pygmies and men 7 feet tall. Even the climate runs the gamut from driest desert to heaviest rainfall, from snow-capped Kilimanjaro practically astride the equator to the great basin of the Congo, and, in addition, in certain marvelously beautiful areas, a temperate climate unsurpassed anywhere.

One can readily understand why, for so many centuries Africa was a coastline but not a continent. One can appreciate why there was so little accurate information to be had well into the nineteenth century, and not too much today. In searching for information, one is reminded of the four lines written by Jonathan Swift:

"So geographers, in Afric maps,

With savage pictures fill their gaps,

And o'er unhabitable downs

Place elephants for want of towns."

Those of you who have been to Africa know something of its vastness. You have felt its mystery, you have been stirred by its almost incredible possibilities. You have, perhaps, found your own emotions shaken, as never before, by the power, the force, that seems to well up out of the very earth. You have been faced with the reality of Africa's awakening. It is as if a great giant stirred for the first time in many centuries, stretching himself, opening his gentle eyes upon an unknown and very disturbing world. Perhaps you, too, have found your own world somewhat shaken by direct contact with this awakening, and all it can mean to the future of mankind.

It was to that Africa that I went in September nearly 2 years ago, I and my three companions, on behalf of the Subcommittee on the Near East and Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I took with me a Signal Corps photographer, a transportation officer who had spent some 8 years in West Africa, and a medical observer, loaned by the Mayo Clinic.

It was our purpose to see all we could in the all-too-short 3½ months allotted us. Starting at Dakar, our route took us into countries in West Africa, south to the Cape, up the East Coast, into the Central Federation, north to Ethiopia, Khartoum and Cairo. It was a continent of contrasts that we saw: its luscious forests and deserts, its granite mountains, its indescribable beauty, its cruelty and ruthlessness. We saw the ravages of disease and the efforts being made to eradicate it. We glimpsed its vast wealth, its unbelievable possibilities. But especially did we see the people: Indians, Lebanese, Syrians, Europeans and above all, Africans, whose present awakening will have such bearing upon the future of the world.

Thanks to the great courtesy of the Washington representatives of the metropolitan countries in advising the various government heads of our coming, we were given every opportunity to learn something at least of what they are doing in their separate areas. Unfortunately we could not go to Spanish Africa, but we did visit the French, the Portuguese, the British, the Belgian areas, and South Africa as well.

It was truly exciting to see the tremendous housing programs everywhere, the schools, the hospitals, the dispensaries, the clinics, and the maternity homes and, of course, in every country, the missions, both Catholic and Protestant, which have been responsible for so much of the education and the staffing of the health work. Each metropolitan country had its own special methods, its own program, but all were moving along roads that will bring better living to all the people.

If we are to speak together of an emergent Africa, we shall have to take a moment or two to look at the past of this so little known continent of which Colonel Van der Post has written that "not even the animals understand."

We know little of the history of Africa south of the Sahara. Legend tells of an ancient and powerful West African empire known as Ghana which flourished more than a thousand years ago, and from which many of the present tribes have sprung. The Egyptians, who are more closely linked with the Middle East than with Africa, trace an unbroken civilization back nearly 6,000 years, while the Berbers and others are indigenous to north Africa. The Arabs, twice conquerors of north Africa, have left many of their people on the African continent. But these moved in upon indigenous people whose past is hidden by time, who carry in their blood strange memories of ancient glory. Today, archaeologists are finding evidence in unexpected places of very ancient civilizations.

It was not until the 19th century that Europeans came to Africa, to encounter un-

expected ills. It was as if Africa had raised her own barriers against intrusion, for the West Coast was soon known as the white man's grave.

Yet the adventurous, the daring, came to explore, to settle and to exploit. They had little or no regard for the people they found there who lived primitively. Who were, as a rule, readily subjugated. Yet it was in the Ashanti country of the Gold Coast—now Ghana—that the British found violent resistance. We were told it took eight wars to conquer them.

As one reads history there seems little difference between the white man's conquest of Africa and his conquest of North America. In neither continent did he attempt to understand those who dwell there. Land tenure? Marriage laws? They mattered not at all. Here in these United States Indians were put on reservations. In Africa there are native reserves. To our shame be it said that we are not even now seeing to it adequately that the people we dispossessed share our way of life to the full.

As I have said, each governing country in Africa has its own methods of dealing with these indigenous people. One might say that the common denominator of their work is health and education. Certainly their common experience must be amazement at the latent ability of these men who must leap across the barriers that separate them and their primitive ways from today's motor cars and airplanes. Modern inventions, highways, and airfields—big and little—have found their way even into the jungles. Railroads are being built, work is underway to develop hydroelectric power, the attack on disease is slowly but surely winning the battle for health. Education is being made increasingly possible. Today's Africa has already come a long, long way since yesterday.

It is less than 2 years ago that the Sudan took her place among the free nations of the world, and but a few months since the Gold Coast became the first black country south of the Sahara to join the British Commonwealth, taking the name of the ancient empire of Ghana from which her people stem.

Here the light of nationalism is burning brightly. The emotion of the March 6 midnight moment with Nkrumah's, "We are forever free" is still strong, though the wise ones know that Ghana is only at the beginning of a long process, that the road ahead is not an easy one. No one-crop economy is ever without danger—and the price of cocoa is all important in Ghana. But great things are in the making: a harbor is being built, the Volta Dam is in everyone's heart and mind and hope rides high.

All Africa, nay, all the world, is watching. Has the tide of nationalism swept this new nation too quickly into the heavy responsibilities of freedom, or is their wisdom sufficient to their need? One cannot but wish them well. But Ghana is a favored State, for there are few if any Asians or Europeans among her people. Her problems should be far more readily solved than those of Nigeria for instance, where in her great northern region are some 10 million Muslims who seem to have little urge toward today's world. At the moment no date has been set for a free federation, although the western and eastern regions have been accorded self-government.

It is in the eastern and central areas of Africa that Britain at least, is attempting to work out methods by which the training for an attainment of complete autonomy can be achieved without upheaval. Here the African must raise his sights also. It is natural that, roused from his long isolation, his first reaction should be, this is my country, mine alone, all outsiders must go. Of course, the outsiders are so far in the minority that he could wipe them out almost over night. But were he to do so, he would have put himself back into the

limbo of savagery. That is not what his heart desires, and one can but hope that those who are attempting to assume leadership will recognize this fact and will use great wisdom in the exercise of their responsibility.

What is to be Africa's role in this amazing era of revolutionary change? To what end, her fabulous wealth in bauxite, cobalt, copper, gold, uranium, diamonds, rubber, cocoa, coffee, and still undiscovered raw materials? To what end her markets, though her needs are infinite? To what end her teeming millions? To what end the many races within her borders, deriving as they do from different continents and separated by long periods of their cultural development, now thrown together to work out a common future?

There is no question but that Africa today is suffering from deep wounds inflicted by fear and mistrust between races and between tribes. The immense task of raising the masses from poverty and ignorance demands the exertion, in unity and fellowship, of all the talents that the continent can provide. Past achievements and plans for the future toward this supreme aim are alike endangered by the threat—or the reality—of internal dissension and Communist penetration.

The urgent need is for a new spirit, a patriotism stronger than racial or tribal loyalty, and for a policy suited to the true needs of the people, of which the people can be proud.

As one looks at it all there seem to be three great forces which, in interaction, will determine the future of the African Continent: (1) a growing African nationalism, (2) western civilization, and (3) increasing Asian influence. Communism will certainly do its utmost to take a hand in the game.

The growth of African nationalism cannot be stayed. Those who wish to live constructively in Africa must work with this tide, not against it. But it is not a fear-some thing, rather is it something to be cordially welcomed because of its creative possibilities.

Western civilization with its promise of better health and ever-increasing opportunity to share in the good things of the world makes its own very real appeal.

Asian influence also has its contributions to make to the emerging continent. The problem of bringing these forces together is not an easy one, but if the West and the East have a true desire to prove to Africa by their attitudes and actions that they ask only to share in the great task of equipping Africa to take her full part in world affairs, the future will hold unbelievable values not just for Africa, but for all the world.

Such an effort is being made in Central Africa within the Tropic of Capricorn (from the Limpopo River to the Sahara) by the Capricorn Africa Society. This society was founded in Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia in 1949 by a group of people composed of members of different races, who believed that a policy for Africa must come from within Africa itself. Its members are committed to the uncompromising acceptance of two purposes: First, the establishment of a way of life in which there will be no discrimination on racial grounds, opportunity will be open to all, and human capacity and merit will be the only criteria for responsible participation in public affairs. Second, and equally important, to maintain and make effective the cultural, moral, and spiritual standards of civilization. These are based upon the belief that all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God, and have a common duty to one another.

Is it not possible that in this great emerging continent there is present opportunity to bring about an understanding among men on a far broader foundation than anything so far tried?

In any consideration of Africa's future, it must not be forgotten that white men in considerable numbers have made their homes in Africa for generations. It is the only country they know. Asians, too, have immigrated and made it their country. This presents a new problem which would appear to be solvable only by merging this new nationalism of the African with that of the other races to whom Africa spells home, so creating a comprehensive nationalism whose influence could well be incalculable.

This Capricorn Africa lives in an area as large as the United States. Although the majority will always be black, white as well as brown Africans will share the responsibilities with complete unity of purpose. Capricorn Africa works on the policy of creating an interracial integrated life in which the different races cooperate without regard to color, for the common material and spiritual enrichment of all. This positive, creative faith in the value of totality is a belief that in the conditions prevailing, a far richer and greater thing can be achieved by the active cooperation of the different races than by any more partial program. The motive power to which CAS chiefly looks for the realization of its aims is the growth of a common African patriotism which members of all races share, which all will seek to serve and which in the case of many individuals will have its roots and nourishment in a deeper, ultimate, religious view of the meaning of life.

I have reminded you that this is an age of revolutionary change. Let me suggest that the fundamental change that must be made, not just in Africa but all over the world, is in the realm of our thoughts. Only as we learn to think in terms of the whole shall we be able to prevent the moment of chaos towards which humanity appears to be heading. And a new way of thinking means a new way of feeling. "Nothing is more needed in Africa today," says one of its leading men, "than a new emotional drive strong enough to counteract the powerful passions of racialism. A new commanding loyalty must take the place of the motives which at present determine action."

So as we look at an emerging Africa let us do so with a deep sense of the immensity of her problems. Let us—all of us—be very wise in our desire to be of service to her, letting her express her need and her desire, not forcing upon her our ideas of that need. She has within her borders all the difficulties facing humanity in this great era of change. She has the opportunity to find the solutions men everywhere are seeking. Facing another moment of destruction and chaos, the world may well look to emergent Africa for new light upon the great road of God's evolution.

Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the debate of the past few days has been in the very highest traditions of Senate procedure.

Not only has it helped Senators in understanding the issues before us. It has generated a public discussion which is educating the people of our Nation.

As one example, I cite the very excellent editorial which appeared in the

Washington Star today. This editorial points out that the bill in its present form involves a "cost in damage to one civil right demanded as the price of strengthening another."

"There is no doubt that such costs are inherent in the bill," the editorial asserts. This editorial might well have been entitled "Stop—Look—Consider."

Mr. President, this is a question that is entirely aside from the merits of the pro- or anti-civil-rights argument. It is a question that goes specifically to language in the bill that goes far beyond anything proposed in recent years by even the most burning advocate of so-called civil rights.

The public is now aware of what it really is—and I believe that when our people are informed, they can reach sound and sensible conclusions.

Mr. President, I had intended to ask unanimous consent that the Washington Star editorial be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, but, since my col-

league [Mr. TALMADGE] has had it printed, of course I shall not duplicate his request.

Name, Rank, and Serial Number No Longer Enough in War?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 11, 1957

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, not a single Member of this House would deliberately water down the right of our GI's as prisoners of war to rely solely on giving their name, rank, and serial number to guarantee fair and humane treatment.

Our GI's are instructed to remain silent on every point that might be helpful

to the enemy except giving, in courteous response, their name, rank, and serial number. Information on troop disposition, terrain, and changing situations the enemy must obtain on his own.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that we in the Congress are not unwittingly placing in the hands of others a precedent that could be used against our boys to require them to give more information than just their name, rank, and serial number.

Could not a future wartime enemy say, in effect, "Look, GI, your own Congress requires witnesses to give more than just their name, address, and occupation. They must testify about others, else they are held in contempt. What is good enough for your Congress is good enough for us. So give with the information. Who was on your left flank? What outfit was on your right flank? Else, take the consequences."

I trust my fears in this regard are ill-founded, Mr. Speaker.

SENATE

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1957

(Legislative day of Monday, July 8, 1957)

The Senate met at 10:30 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, God, for a hallowed moment snatched from the pressing concerns of state we bow in reverence at this wayside altar of prayer. Against all odds and obstacles and amid all differences and contentions may we keep our love of life, our sense of humor, our delight in friendship, our hunger for new knowledge, our hatred of pretense, and our intolerance for what our hearts tell us is false and degrading. Quicken our love of America at its best, that we may see the shining glory of the Republic both as a heritage and a trust.

We ask it in the name of that Holy One whose truth will make all men free. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, July 11, 1957, was approved, and its reading was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Ratchford, one of his secretaries.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

On request of Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, and by unanimous consent, Mr. ANDERSON was excused from attendance on the sessions of the Senate on Monday and Tuesday next, July 16 and 17, 1957.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the value of Senate procedures has very definitely been demonstrated—and demonstrated dramatically—by the debate of the past few days.

When this debate opened, it was generally assumed that the issue was a simple yes-or-no proposition. I believe that most thoughtful men now agree that there are serious issues which must be explored carefully and prudently.

There are still those, of course, who believe that the Senate should operate on the basis of "get out of town by sundown." But I doubt whether they will impress the Senate or the great majority of our people.

The course of this discussion thus far has made me very proud of a number of basic American institutions.

First, I am proud of the Senate. Not only have the speeches been of a high caliber, but they have been accompanied by searching, probing questions and colloquies which indicate a sincere and earnest desire to arrive at the facts.

Second, I am proud of the press. I believe it is a real tribute to our great and free newspapers that they have demonstrated a capacity not only to present facts which are called to their attention, but to have second thoughts. It is obvious that at least the editorial writers are reading the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and are keeping abreast of the Senate debates.

Third, I am proud of the reaction of our people as it has been expressed to us directly in conversations, and through the mail. The people have not been dogmatic or arbitrary, but have realized that it is not possible to reach conclusions in advance of the testimony or the receipt of the evidence.

There will be some who insist that it is little short of treason to dot a single "i" or cross a single "t" in passing the civil rights bill. There will be others who will insist that it is the height of infamy to approve a single "i" or cross a single "t."

But I think the American people have more sense than that.

I believe they expect the Senate to consider this far-reaching measure carefully. I believe they want it to be debated to a point where there is little question of the facts.

In view of the situation which confronts us—having to consider a bill without the evaluation of a committee report—it is all the more necessary that we proceed with care in our discussion.

I think the American people want Senators who are honestly convinced the bill is bad to vote against it, and those who are convinced the bill is good to vote for it. And I think they want Senators who believe changes are necessary to press those changes vigorously.

It is the essence of human nature for those who are deeply interested in a project to assume that there is some form of degradation in departing 1 inch from a position. It would be surprising if this feeling were absent from this issue.

But there is a national interest which transcends partisan considerations. That national interest requires us to explore every avenue until we know the facts and then to vote our firm and honest convictions.

No matter how we vote on this issue, someone will be disappointed. There is no partisan position which is universally popular and which will lead to overwhelming adulation.

There is only one clear-cut path. It is to examine the facts and vote accordingly. We must reason together and try to arrive at a position which will serve all the people of America according to the standards of decency and traditional freedoms.

I interpret the debate and the activities of my colleagues during the last few days along those lines. There have been no deals, no compromises, no trading of principles of which I am aware.

This is the climate which can enable the Senate to arrive at a decision and I believe Senators on both sides of the aisle